

Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses

Date/Time Stamp:
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Post-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete this form within 30 days of returning from travel. Submit all forms to the **Office of Public Records in 232 Hart Building.**

In compliance with Rule 35.2(a) and (c), I make the following disclosures with respect to travel expenses that have been or will be reimbursed/paid for me. I also certify that I have attached:

- ☒ The **original** *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* (Form RE-1), **AND**
☒ A **copy** of the *Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form* with all attachments (itinerary, invitee list, etc.)

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Travel date(s): March 7 to March 11, 2018

Name of accompanying family member (if any): None

Relationship to Traveler: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

IF THE COST OF LODGING DID NOT INCREASE DUE TO THE ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY INCLUDE LODGING COSTS IN EMPLOYEE EXPENSES. (Attach additional pages if necessary.)

Expenses for Employee:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate	\$1400	\$788	\$500	None
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount				

Expenses for Accompanying Spouse or Dependent Child (if applicable):

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate				
<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount				

Provide a description of all meetings and events attended. See Senate Rule 35.2(c)(6). (Attach additional pages if necessary.): Please see addendum

3/26/2018
(Date)

Elizabeth O'Boyle
(Printed name of traveler)

Elizabeth O'Boyle
(Signature of traveler)

TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING MEMBER/OFFICER:

I have made a determination that the expenses set out above in connections with travel described in the *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* form, are necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses as defined in Rule 35.

3/26/2018
(Date)

John McAni
(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

EMPLOYEE PRE-TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

Date/Time Stamp:

Pre-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete and submit this form at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date to the **Select Committee on Ethics** in **SH-220**. Incomplete and late travel submissions will **not** be considered or approved. This form **must** be typed and is available as a fillable PDF on the Committee's website at ethics.senate.gov. Retain a copy of your entire pre-travel submission for your required post-travel disclosure.

Name of Traveler: Elizabeth O'Bagy

Employing Office/Committee: Senator John McCain

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): German Marshall FUnd (GMF)

Travel date(s): March 7-11

*Note: If you plan to extend the trip for any reason you **must** notify the Committee.*

Destination(s): Brussels, Belgium

Explain how this trip is specifically connected to the traveler's official or representational duties:

I will travel to Brussels for the GMF Brussels Forum, a preeminent platform for policymakers and experts to discuss and shape the transatlantic agenda. Participating in the panels and discussions will help inform my understanding of the evolving security environment in Europe and challenges to enhanced transatlantic cooperation. It will also provide an important venue for meeting with key European thought leaders to gain their insight into critical political trends impacting US national security interests, and engage with individuals involved with policy planning in ways that will contribute to my work on behalf of Senator McCain.

Name of accompanying family member (if any): none

Relationship to Employee: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge:

2/2/2018
(Date)

Elizabeth O'Bagy
(Signature of Employee)

TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING SENATOR/OFFICER (President of the Senate, Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant at Arms, Secretary for the Majority, Secretary for the Minority, and Chaplain):

I, Senator John McCain hereby authorize Elizabeth O'Bagy
(Print Senator's/Officer's Name) (Print Traveler's Name)

an employee under my direct supervision, to accept payment or reimbursement for necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to the event described above. I have determined that this travel is in connection with his or her duties as a Senate employee or an officeholder, and will not create the appearance that he or she is using public office for private gain.

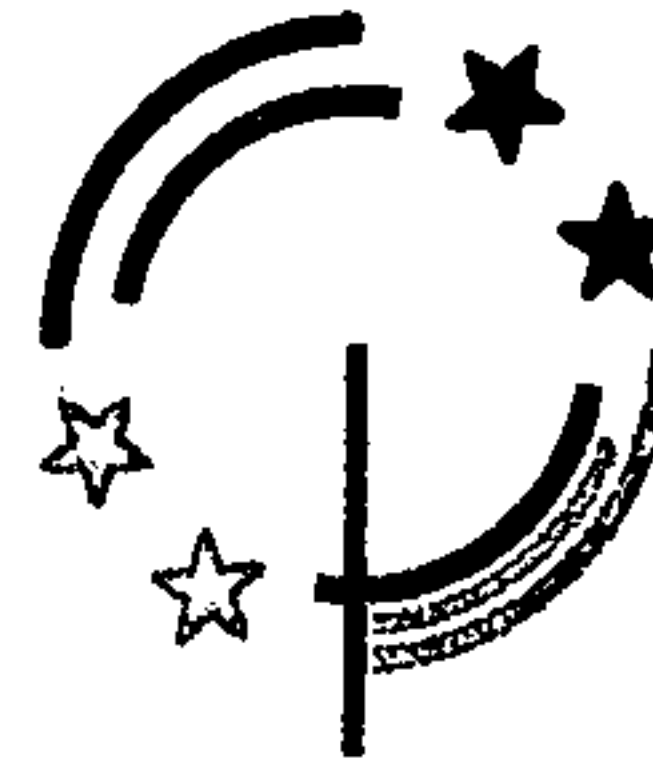
I have also determined that the attendance of the employee's spouse or child is appropriate to assist in the representation of the Senate. (signify "yes" by checking box) ☐

2/2/2018
(Date)

John McCain
(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

November 29, 2017

Ms. Elizabeth O'Bagy
Office of Senator John McCain
218 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510



The German Marshall Fund's
BRUSSELS FORUM

Dear Ms. O'Bagy,

I would like to invite you to the 13th annual Brussels Forum, the signature conference of The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), which will take place on March 8-10, 2018, at the Steigenberger Hotel in Brussels.

GMF's Brussels Forum is the preeminent platform for policymakers and experts across different sectors to shape the transatlantic agenda and debate the most pressing global challenges. Past speakers include U.S. Senator John McCain, German Minister of Defense Ursula von der Leyen, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice President of the European Commission Federica Mogherini, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, and Chairman of the Board of Management for Daimler AG Dieter Zetsche.

The issues facing the transatlantic relationship require the engagement of diverse stakeholders to bring about effective policies and solutions. Your perspective and expertise would be a valuable addition to Brussels Forum.

We look forward to having you join us. Please address any questions to our Director of Congressional Affairs, Reta Jo Lewis, at rjlewis@gmfus.org or +1 202 683 2638. Many thanks for considering this invitation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Karen P. Donfried".

Dr. Karen Donfried
President
The German Marshall Fund of the United States

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors):
German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF)
2. Description of the trip: Brussels Forum is an annual high level conference that brings together influential political, corporate, and intellectual leaders to discuss pressing transatlantic issues.
3. Dates of travel: March 7 to March 11, 2018
4. Place of travel: Brussels, Belgium
5. Name and title of Senate invitees: Please see addendum
6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
 - ☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
 - OR –
 - ☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
 - AND –
 - ☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8. I *certify* that:
 - ☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
 - AND –
 - ☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

9. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)**

I *certify* that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

– OR –

☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (*see questions 6 and 10*).

– OR –

☐ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)**

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel;

11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

The German Marshall Fund is responsible for all aspects of Brussels Forum and conducting this trip,
including the recruitment of participants and the planning of the trip and conference agenda.

13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

The German Marshall Fund seeks to strengthen understanding and awareness between the U.S and
Europe on shared issues and challenges. This conference brings together high-level individuals to discuss
relevant transatlantic issues.

14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:

GMF has organized and sponsored annual congressional study tours at both the Member and staff level
on topics such as foreign policy, trade, energy, and security for over 15 years.

15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

GMF publishes policy briefs on a range of issues, convenes conferences that bring together leaders from a range of backgrounds, and provides experts to brief Congress.

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith estimate <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	\$1200 (Round-trip airfare and ground transportation)	\$788 (645 EUR)	\$500	None

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

a) without regard to congressional participation

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

As the headquarters of the EU and NATO, Brussels provides a unique location to discuss the most pressing transatlantic issues.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

Steigenberger Grandhotel, 71 Avenue Louise, 1050 Brussels, Belgium

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

The Steigenberger was chosen for its size and ability to provide the accommodations necessary to host the Brussels Forum. GMF has hosted Brussels Forum at the Steigenberger since 2006.

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Brussels Forum participants receive the same meals and lodgings throughout the conference and all proceedings take place in the Steigenberger, with the exception of off-site dinners. It would be onerous to provide separate meals and lodgings, thus these expenses slightly exceed the federal per diem rates.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Coach class round-trip airfare will be provided

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

None

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (You must include the completed signature block below for each travel sponsor.):

Signature of Travel Sponsor: Karen E. Donfried

Name and Title: Karen Donfried, President

Name of Organization: German Marshall Fund

Address: 1744 R St NW, Washington, DC 20009

Telephone Number: 202-683-2650

Fax Number: 202-265-1662

E-mail Address: kdonfried@gmfus.org

Please contact Reta Jo Lewis, Director-Congressional Affairs, at rjlewis@gmfus.org or +1 202 422 7382, if you have any questions.

Senate Ethics Addendum

Brussels Forum 2018

Staff:

Elizabeth O'Bagy, Legislative Assistant, Senator John McCain

Chris Armstrong, Chief Oversight Counsel, Committee on Finance

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March 7 – 11, 2018

18:00 **Staffers depart IAD**

7:15 **Staffers arrive to Brussels Airport**

7:45 - 8:30 **Transfer to Steigenberger Hotel**

8:30 Hotel Check-in

14:30 – 15:15 **Scene Setters**

This session will frame the Forum. Speakers will comment on where action has been taken since last year's forum, while exploring the nature of transatlantic distrust and where the trust began to break down.

- **Dr. Karen Donfried**, President, GMF (*confirmed*)
- **Mr. Richard Lui**, Visiting Senior Fellow, GMF; Anchor, MSNBC (*confirmed*)
- **Dr. Robert Kagan**, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institute (*confirmed*)

15:15 - 15:45 **Conversation with Federica Mogherini**

High Representative Mogherini will speak on the European Union's foreign and security policy priorities and the need for effective transatlantic cooperation on these issues.

- **The Hon. Federica Mogherini**, High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy, Vice President, European Commission (*confirmed*)
- **Moderator: Mr. Richard Lui**, Visiting Senior Fellow, GMF; Anchor, MSNBC (*confirmed*)

15:45 – 16:15 **Coffee Break**

16:15 – 17:00 Conversation with Mateusz Morawiecki

[illegible]



Prime Minister Morawiecki will speak on the future of Europe and Poland's role in that evolution.

- 17:00 - 17:45**

This session will address how transatlantic partners can work together to set global norms, settle transatlantic disagreements about technology policy, and maintain shared values in the digital age.

- 17:45 – 18:15**

18:15 - 19:15

As the question of transatlantic trust is complicated by fundamental worries about governance, security, prosperity and sovereignty, this session will explore why transatlantic trust matters and how it can be rebuilt.

- 19:15 – 21:30**

All conference attendees are invited to attend opening dinner. Speakers will provide introductory remarks.



22:00 -23:00

#1: The State Strikes Back: Revisiting Sovereignty

This session will explore the tensions between nationalism, sovereignty, and globalization.

Introduction: Dr. Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff, Director, Berlin Office, GMF

- **Dr. Steven Krasner**, Professor, Stanford University (*confirmed*)
- **Ms. Frauke Petry**, Member, German Bundestag (*confirmed*)
- **Dr. Nathalie Tocci**, Director, IAI (*confirmed*)
- **Moderator: Dr. Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff**, Director, Berlin Office, GMF (*confirmed*)

#2: Revisiting Identity: What is Home in a Globalized World?

This session will discuss the effects of globalization on social, ethnic, and other identities.

Introduction: Ms. Astrid Ziebarth, Senior Fellow, GMF

- **Mr. Tim Dixon**, Co-Founder, More in Common (*invited*)
- **Ms. Cynthia Miller Idriss**, Professor, American University (*confirmed*)
- **Ms. Taiye Selasi**, Writer (*confirmed*)
- Moderator: **Ms. Jessica Bither**, Senior Program Officer, Berlin Office, GMF(*confirmed*)

Friday, March 9

8:00 – 9:00

Brussels Forum Breakfast: Bursting Information Bubbles? Fairness, Fact-checking and Fortifying Public Trust in the Press

This session will address issues around echo chambers, algorithmically-determined content, and misinformation in the media.

- **Ms. Indira Lakshmanan**, Newmark Chair in Journalism Ethics, Poynter (*confirmed*)
- **Ms. Sophie Nicholson**, Social Media Editor, AFP (*confirmed*)
- **Ms. Shawna Thomas**, DC Bureau Chief, VICE News (*confirmed*)

9:15 - 9:30

Scene Setter



This scene setter will introduce the subsequent panels on trade and economics.

- 9:30 - 10:30**

This session will dive deeply into arguments around free trade agreements, open markets, and labor and environmental protections to determine whether we need a new narrative, or a new approach, to re-build trust in trade.

- 10:30 - 11:30**

This session will explore how we can revise, rebuild, and reboot an economic framework that promotes growth but redistributes growth equitably, while also developing inclusive economies.

- 11:30 – 12:00**

12:00 - 13:00

This session will focus on advances in digitalization and energy production and their effects on the energy, tech, and automotive sectors

- brussels.gmfus.org**

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Against the Motion:

- **Mr. Bernard Kouchner**, former Foreign Minister, France (*confirmed*)
- **Dr. Kori Schake**, Deputy Director-General, International Institute for Strategic Studies (*confirmed*)
- Moderator: **Mr. John Donovan**, Moderator, Intelligence Squared US (*confirmed*)

Coffee Break

Prioritizing Transatlantic Defense

This session will examine the primary tenets of transatlantic security and defense that US and European stakeholders must grapple with in order to reinforce the transatlantic alliance.

- **Mr. Marc Allen**, President, Boeing International (*confirmed*)
- **The Hon. Norbert Röttgen**, Head, Foreign Affairs Committee, German Bundestag (*confirmed*)
- **The Hon. Michael Turner**, Representative, U.S. House of Representatives (*confirmed*)
- Moderator: **Ms. Kimberly Dozier**, Executive Editor, The Cipher Brief (*confirmed*)

Break-Out Dinners

All conference attendees are invited to attend Break-Out Dinners. Break-Out Dinner descriptions are included in addendum.

Night Owls – Tackling the Real Problems *(sessions are concurrent)*

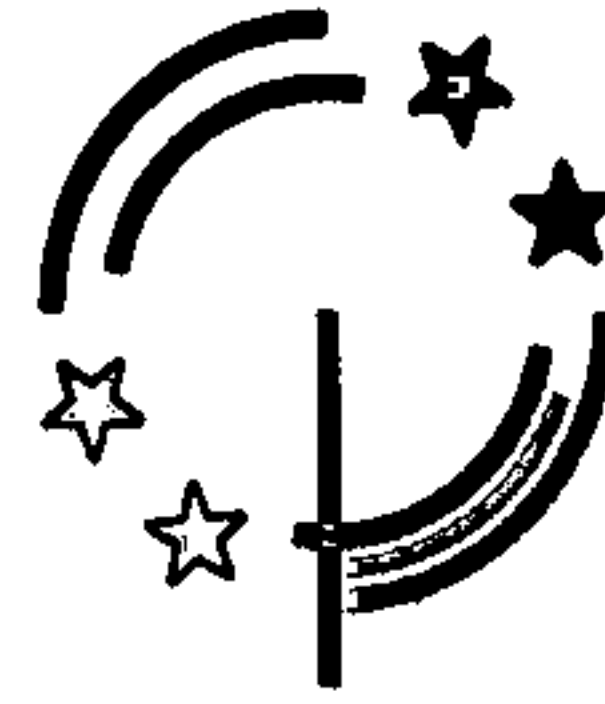
#3: Transatlantic Strategies Toward Russia

This session will discuss the options open to the transatlantic partners to engage Russia while employing a sustainable, unified policy against aggressive Russian actions.

Introduction: **Mr. Steven Keil**, Fellow and Senior Program Officer, Foreign and Security Policy, GMF

- **The Hon. Janis Garisons**, State Secretary, Ministry of Defense, Latvia (*confirmed*)
- **Dr. Andrey Kortunov**, Director General, Russian International Affairs Council (*confirmed*)

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The German Marshall Fund's
BRUSSELS FORUM
2018

Revise, Reboot, Rebuild: Strategies for Times of Distrust

- **The Hon. Cem Özdemir**, Member, Bundestag (*confirmed*)
- **Dr. Celeste Wallander**, President and CEO, U.S. Russia Foundation for Economic Advancement (*confirmed*)
- Moderator: **Mr. Julian Barnes**, Reporter, *The Wall Street Journal* (*confirmed*)

#4: How AI Shakes the Balance of Power

This session will explore the potential effects of artificial intelligence on governances, both domestic and international.

- **The Hon. Suzan DelBene**, Representative, U.S. House of Representatives (*confirmed*)
- **Mr. John Frank**, Vice President, EU Government Affairs, Microsoft (*confirmed*)
- **Dr. Riina Kionka**, Chief Foreign Policy Advisor to the President, European Council (*confirmed in general*)
- **Amb. Casper Klynge**, Tech Ambassador, Denmark (*invited*)
- Moderator: **Mr. Josh Rogin**, Columnist, *The Washington Post* (*confirmed*)

#5: Dealing with Iran

This session will address changing perspectives on the JCPOA within Iran and the United States and the effect this could have on the implementation of this agreement.

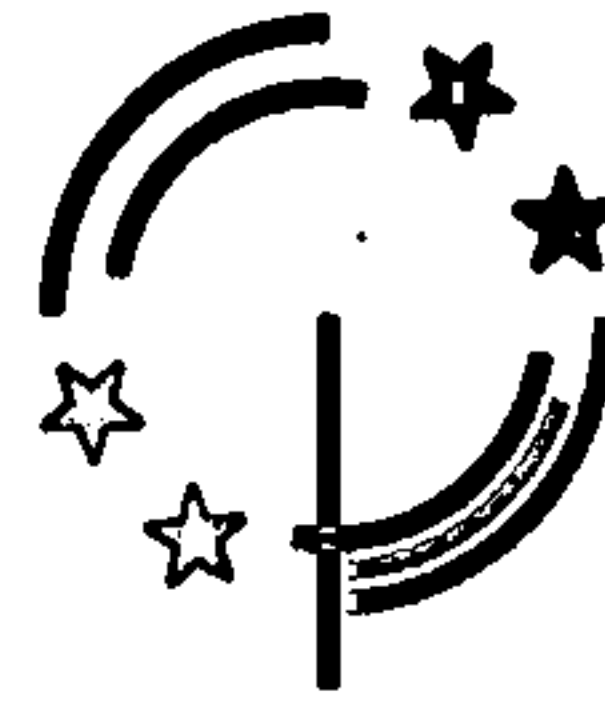
- **Amb. Seyed Hossein Mousavian**, Professor, Princeton University (*confirmed*)
- **Mr. Mark Dubowitz**, CEO, Foundation for Defense of Democracies (*invited*)
- **The Hon. Ted Poe**, Member, U.S. House of Representatives (*confirmed*)
- Moderator: **Mr. David Ignatius**, Writer, *The Washington Post* (*confirmed*)

Saturday, March 10

8:00 – 9:00

Brussels Forum Breakfast: Understanding America

This session will examine the first year of the Trump administration and the outlook for the upcoming midterm elections.



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Revise, Reboot, Rebuild: Strategies for Times of Distrust

- **Amb. Wendy R. Sherman**, Senior Counselor, Albright Stonebridge Group (*confirmed*)
- **The Hon. Ted Poe**, Representative, U.S. House of Representatives (*confirmed*)
- **Dr. Ken Weinstein**, President and CEO, Hudson Institute (*confirmed in general*)
- Moderator: **Ms. Natalie Nougayrede**, Editorial Board Member and Columnist, The Guardian (*confirmed*)

9:15 - 10:15

Reviving the Euro-Atlantic Integration Process

This session will focus on the challenges, both internally and externally imposed, faced by European states attempting to ascend to NATO and the European Union.

- **The Hon. Ivanna Klymush-Tsintsadze**, Vice Prime Minister, European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Ukraine (*confirmed*)
- **H.E. Giorgi Margvelashvili**, President, Georgia (*confirmed*)
- **Amb. Kurt Volker**, U.S. Special Representative for Ukraine (*confirmed in general*)
- Moderator: **Mr. Steve Erlanger**, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, *The New York Times* (*confirmed in general*)

10:15 - 11:15

Neutralizing the North Korea Threat

This session will address Europe and the United States' policy options in response to the growing threats of North Korea's nuclear capabilities.

- **Mr. Masaharu Kono**, Special Representative of the Government of Japan for the Middle East and Europe, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*invited*)
- **Mr. Michael Morell**, Senior Counselor, Beacon Global Strategies (*confirmed*)
- **Mr. Sokeel Park**, Director of Research and Strategy, Liberty in North Korea (*confirmed*)
- Moderator: **Ms. Xenia Wickett**, Head, U.S. and Americas Program, Chatham House (*confirmed*)

11:15 - 11:45

Coffee Break



11:45 - 13:00

As global alliances and traditional power constellations start to shift, this session will explore the potential opportunities and challenges presented by the rise of new global powers and nontraditional alliances.

- **The Hon. Gregory Meeks**, Representative, U.S. House of Representatives (*confirmed in general*)
- **The Hon. Didier Reynders**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, Belgium (*confirmed*)
- **Mr. Dev Sanyal**, Chief Executive Alternative Energy and Executive Vice President, BP (*confirmed*)
- **Moderator: TBD**

13:00 – 13:15

The Brussels Forum Pledge

- **Dr. Karen Donfried**, President, GMF (*confirmed*)
- **Mr. Richard Lui**, Visiting Senior Fellow, GMF; Anchor, MSNBC (*confirmed*)

13:15 – 14:45

GMF Directors will host a working lunch focused on their on-the-ground insight into developments in Europe at both the country and EU levels.

- **Reta Jo Lewis**, Congressional Affairs Director, GMF (*confirmed*)
- **Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff**, Vice President & Berlin Office Director, GMF (*confirmed*)
- **Ian Lesser**, Foreign Policy Vice President & Brussels Office Director, GMF (*confirmed*)

14:45 – 16:45

GMF Trust Directors will host a discussion on their work on civil society in Eastern and Central Europe.

- **Joerg Forbrig**, Fund for Belarus Democracy Director, GMF (*confirmed*)
- **Alina Inayeh**, Black Sea Trust Director, GMF (*confirmed*)
- **Gordana Delic**, Balkan Trust for Democracy Director, GMF (*confirmed*)

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The German Marshall Fund's **BRUSSELS FORUM**

Breakout Dinners
Friday, March 9, 2018

Learning:

1. Crossing the Dividing Line: Reconciliation in the Balkans

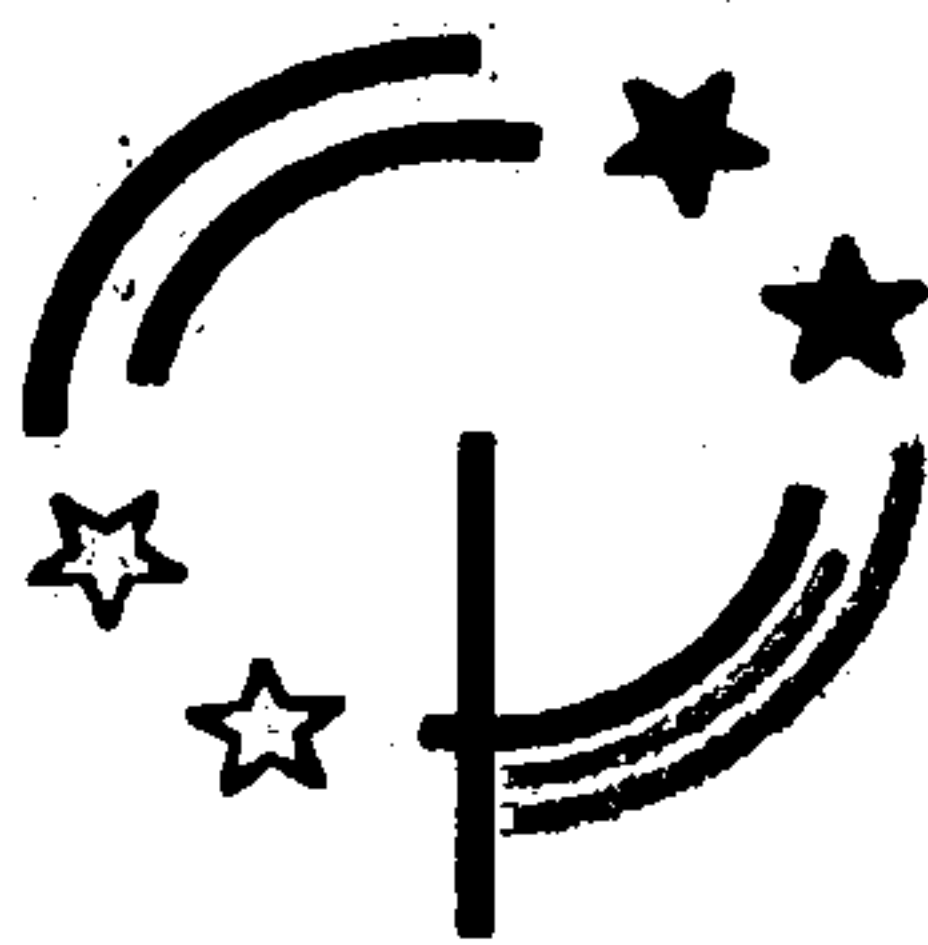
"Those who don't know history are doomed to repeat it" — Edmund Burke.

Following the end of the Cold War, we have witnessed violence between ethnic groups, religious communities and clans all over the world. Globalization eliminated the significance of a nation-state but has caught us unprepared for cultural divides that have become more apparent and obvious in the past two decades, creating hotspots of conflicts that threatened regional securities and even challenged the world order. We see the rise of minorities demanding recognition and rights but the powerful are responding with repression and violence to protect their dominant position. The increasing frequency of political violence, rise of populism, and potential for new conflicts demands strategies of holistic approach. History offers a variety of lessons that could be learned and applied today. The Elysee Treaty from 55 years ago is an example of how reconciliation between the people should look like and it has become a source of inspiration for many people and leaders in the Balkans. Learning from the Franco-German reconciliation process, the Balkan states recognized the importance of youth cooperation in the region and created a Regional Youth Cooperation Office to recognize that the reconciliation between young people is one of the most important processes for the region. It is an investment in the future, peace, and well-being of the Balkan people.

This dinner conversation is designed to help make sense of the important developments in the Balkans that gave way to nationalism, divided societies, ethnic conflict and its management and resolution. The goal is to learn from best practices that can be used in order to prevent disastrous events in other regions and rebuild trust between societies.

2. How to Engage Men on Issues of Gender and Diversity

Workplace culture and policies do not allow parents of either gender to spend equal amount of time with their children. While there has been a lot of discussion about how tricky that balancing act between family life and professional



The German Marshall Fund's **BRUSSELS FORUM**

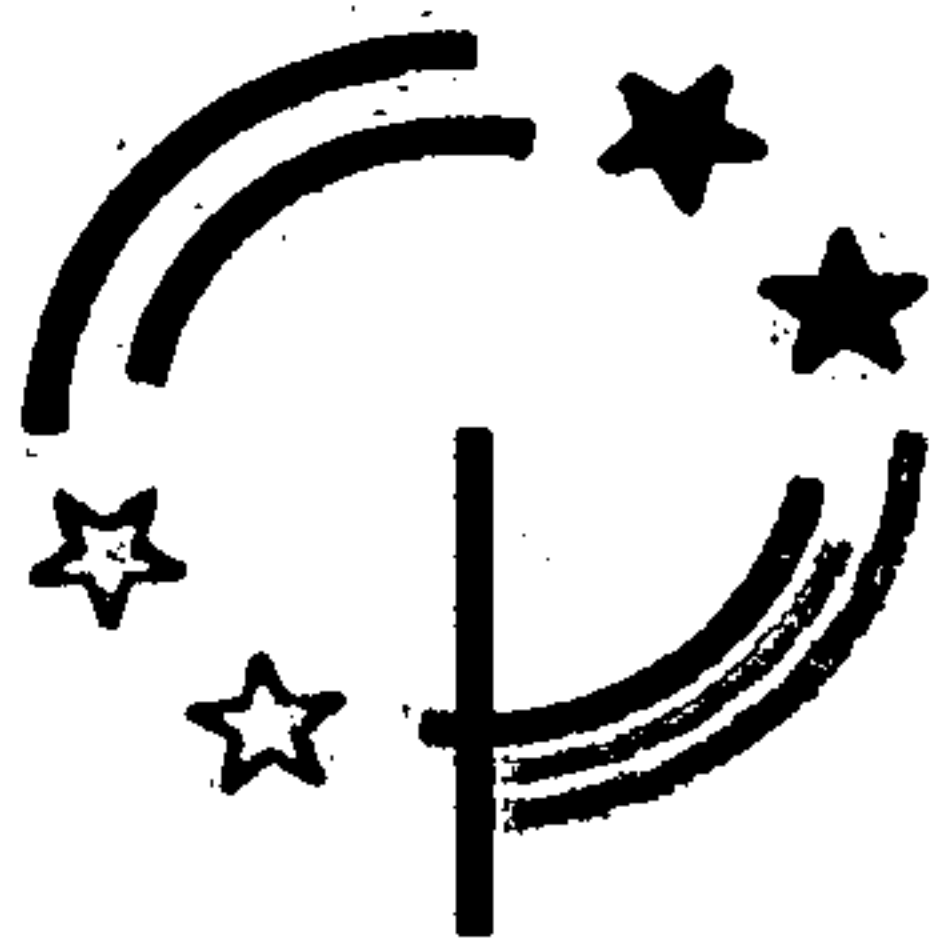
development is for women, few have explored what it means for men and how workplace structures would have to change more generally to accommodate both men and women. Traditional gender roles have shaped our mentalities in such a way that it has informed policies about what men and women are or should be and has led to unequal treatment when it comes to professional development, parental leave, pay, pensions, and work-life balance incentives. What better workplace policies exist on both sides of the Atlantic? What does it mean to be a dad — or working father — in the 21st century? And can we change the image of women who want to pursue a career?

3. Innovation and Technology for Inclusive Societies

The past few years have seen amazing changes in technological and digital innovations. These developments have been hailed to change the future of work, the way we commute, or how products and services are delivered to consumers. In addition, they have the potential to promote more inclusive societies by reducing costs and providing access to services to groups of societies that in the past felt isolated or disadvantaged. This breakout dinner will explore how new technologies and digital tools already do improve access to public services across generations, provide new opportunities for immigrant communities, and more generally how they can serve as platforms for better civic engagement.

4. Start-up Ecosystem

The United States receives the lion's share of venture capital investment, but Europe is also building a viable start-up ecosystem. With over a decade of experience on the continent, European tech entrepreneurs are giving back by investing in start-ups and encouraging policymakers to create a marketplace that supports innovation and a culture of risk-taking. The European Commission and the European Investment Fund have planned to generate €1.6 billion in VC funding with a funds of fund program to provide additional support to the growing tech industry. Will this, in addition to the EU's Digital Single Market Strategy, help entrepreneurs, and what remains to be done to promote more founders and successful enterprises? What best practices can Europe adopt from the United States and are there home-grown trademarks to boast about and offer as a model for growth?



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5. Transforming the Post-Soviet Space: Can the Digital Revolution and New Economy be Catalysts for Prosperity, Freedom, and Integration?

Despite ongoing political disruption in the United States and European Union, transatlantic partners maintain their strong commitment to support former Soviet states, as they carry out political and economic reforms. Both Brussels and Washington have emphasized economic growth and transparent market oriented democracies as essential to that transition and greater integration with the West. New economic drivers in these countries, including the emergence of robust technology sectors, are transforming transatlantic engagement with these countries, paving the way for deeper engagement, and impacting further European integration. How have the technology revolutions, for example in Estonia, Ukraine, and Belarus, impacted their integration and partnership with the West, and what can their neighbours in Eastern Europe and Central Asia learn from their progress? What steps should be taken by the United States and Europe to prioritize and champion policies and assistance to promote technology economies and economic growth? What are the responsibilities of the government's partnering with the United States and Europe, to create the conditions conducive to ensuring that these emerging sectors thrive and that the pace of integration with the West is heightened?



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Solving:

6. **How to Reign in Illiberalism in Central Europe?**

Across Western democracies, political trends and forces have been on the rise over the last years that challenge traditional notions, institutions, and values of liberal democracy. Nowhere is this trend more pronounced than in Central Europe, which was once seen as a remarkable success story of transformation from Soviet-style authoritarianism to liberal democracy. Now, however, a potent mix of ruthless power politics, weak institutions, beleaguered civil society and media, reform fatigue, and a return of traditional nationalisms and phobias challenges the region. Ever more obviously, Central Europe is at risk of reversing democracy, forfeiting prosperity achieved, and returning to the instability and insecurity that has wrecked this region for centuries. In the face of this dangerous dynamic, it is paramount to find more effective responses from within the region and from its Euro-Atlantic allies. This discussion will focus on what can be done practically by domestic civil society, politics, and independent media, and by outside actors on both sides of the Atlantic.

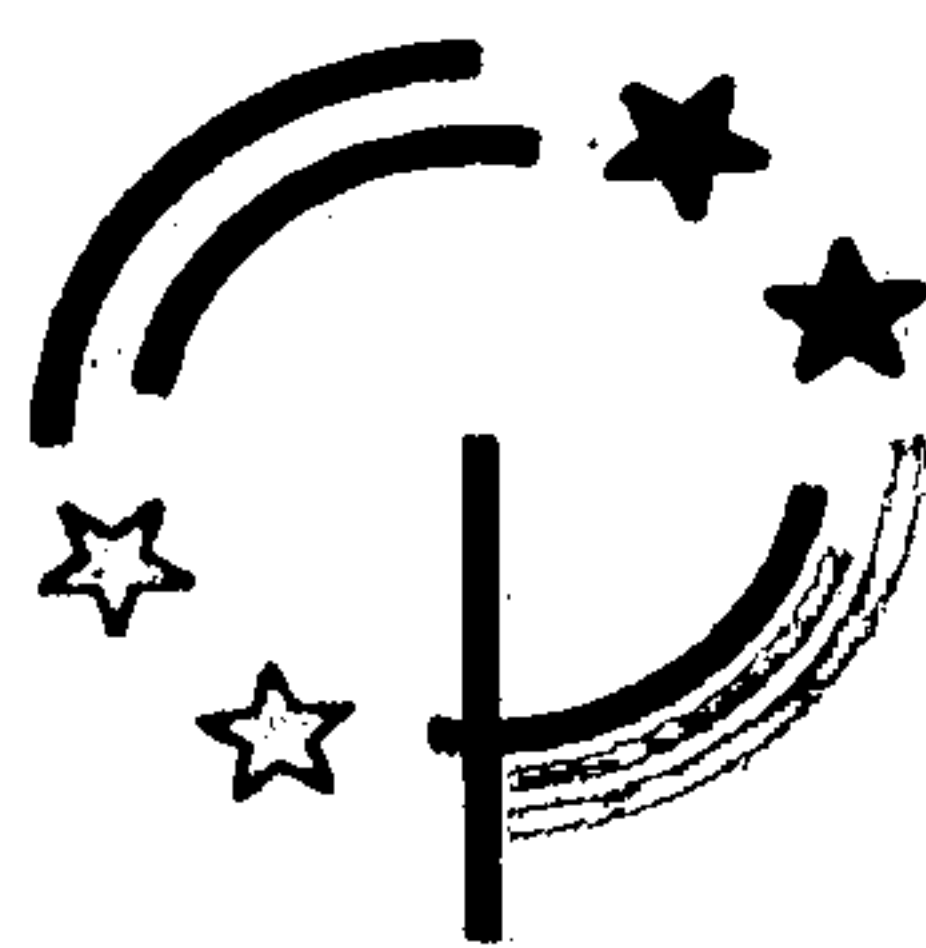
7. **Protecting Democracy in Cyberspace**

Western democracies now face adversaries that use cyber-enabled attacks to help unleash outsized damage to their democratic processes as well as their economy and national security. These attacks, coupled with disinformation campaigns that abuse social networks and other online platforms present new forms of hybrid threats. Addressing these threats necessitates shared responsibility and action between governments and the technology business, including a new generation of international agreements that better govern cyberspace. But the absence of clear international norms focused on protecting civilians and civilian infrastructure complicates the cyber-threat landscape. Governments and the private sector will need to continue to work collectively to defend against these new threats.

8. **Developing a New Toolkit to Defend our Democracies**

During the Alliance for Securing Democracy's breakout dinner, attendees will participate in a lively discussion of strategies to counter, deter, and defend our democracies against Russia's full toolkit of influence operations, including cyber,

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disinformation, illicit finance, state economic influence, and political and social influence. The focus will be on developing concrete policy recommendations and best practices that can be shared across the transatlantic space.

9. Trusting Still in Transatlantic Trade?

When in July 2013, negotiations toward a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) agreement were launched, there was hope that the first Congressionally-ratified agreement with the EU, would solidify EU–U.S. political and strategic relations even as it promoted new growth and jobs in the United States and European economies. This grand vision quickly became mired in contention following the Snowden revelations and subsequent deep concerns in Europe about Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) and regulatory cooperation. Since the election of President Trump, TTIP has been in limbo. If the two sides take no initiative, is the relationship destined to weaken? Can TTIP or its predecessor, the Transatlantic Economic Council, be resurrected? Is there room to expand bilateral regulatory cooperation, as the two sides did last year with agreements on pharmaceutical manufacturing practices and life insurance? Or could common concerns about trading practices of other countries — notably China — provide a foundation for collaboration? This dinner will focus on these and other questions to recommend new ways to re-build trust in transatlantic trade.

10. When the “Same Old” Stops Working: Rethinking the Future of International Protection

The pillars of the international protection regime established over 50 years ago are no longer sufficient to match today’s levels and nature of global displacement. From humanitarian aid to development programs, the current international approaches are ill-equipped to deal with the needs of refugees beyond survival and toward offering livelihoods. Simultaneously, the management of increasingly complex migration movements requires new forms of collaboration and partnerships between actors, regions, levels of government, and individuals. New ideas, such as “special economic zones,” or a complete reboot of the humanitarian protection approach are now on the table. What could a new system of international protection look like, and what do we need to get there? What are new initiatives and approaches that are already taking shape?

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What building blocks are necessary for creating new partnerships and collaboration, and what is the role of communication and technology?



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Deepening:

11. **Countdown to Brexit: Prospects for a New U.K.–EU Relationship**

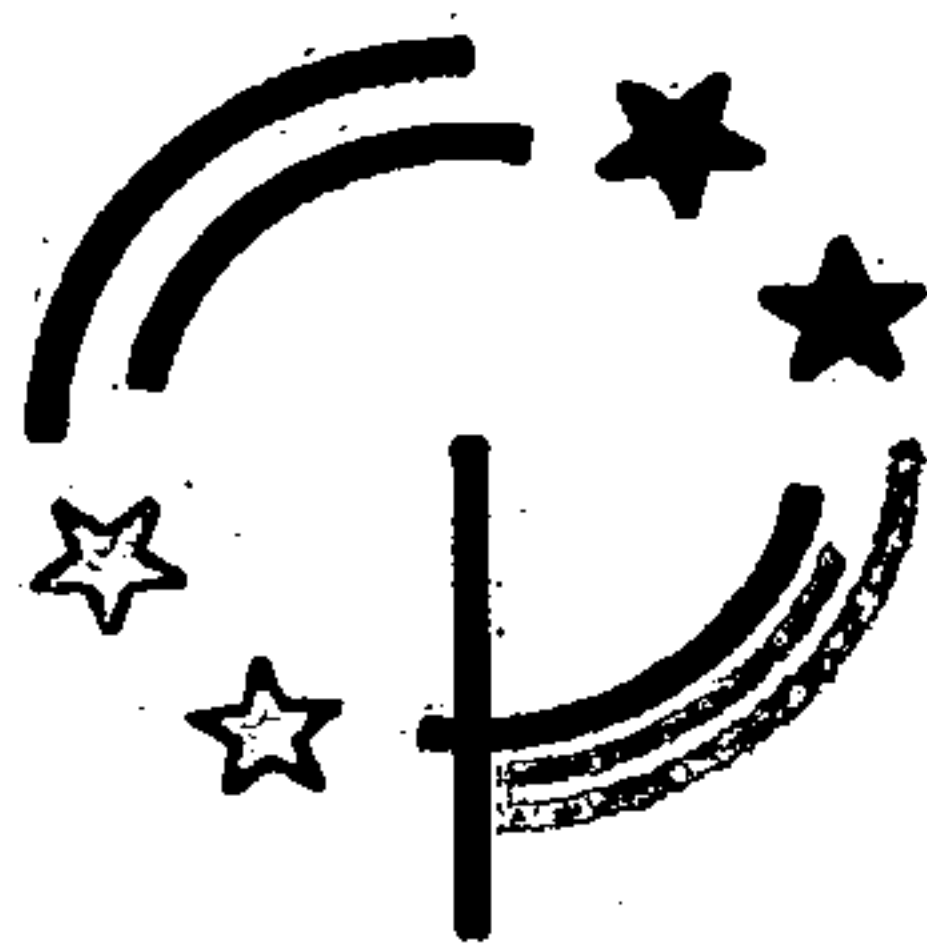
The EU and U.K. will be consumed by Brexit talks throughout 2018. The details of the divorce are still to be set in stone while forward looking scenarios begin to be discussed. Political turmoil in the U.K. also casts a shadow on the government's and parliament's ability to carry through the country's departure from the EU in an orderly fashion and leading to a future relationship which works in the interest of all parties. Assuming that the two sides will manage to disentangle the relationship without critical repercussions, in line with the pledges made in December 2017, what are the scenarios for future relations? Alongside the future economic relationship, which has been the core focus of the debate, there is an array of issues that merit reflection: nuclear issues and the future of Euratom, prospects for cooperation on security and defense, and how the EU and the U.K. will align themselves on the big international questions of our times — climate change, Africa's development. Can sufficient trust between the EU and U.K. ensure continuation of cooperation?

12. **Dealing with a Risen China**

China's Belt and Road Initiative is reshaping the geography from Central Asia to Europe. On artificial intelligence, genetics, nanotechnology, and robotics, among other things, China is pushing out ahead of the West as the leader of modern technology. Rather than collapsing, the Chinese political system has consolidated and become more authoritarian, with plans in place to further consolidate power in Beijing. In the meantime, the future of the U.S. economic strategy remains unclear. Politics in both Europe and the United States are causing both regions to turn inward. Democracy is backsliding around the world. Are these developments reflective of broader trends, or will the West continue to lead?

13. **Development in a Low-Carbon Environment**

As the global demand for energy increases, the challenge to producers and policymakers is clear; how do we increase energy production in growing markets while decreasing carbon emissions on a global scale? As major economies contend with emission reduction targets and the adoption of the Paris Climate Accords, emerging economies are grappling with their own energy revolutions.



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Low Carbon Development (LCD) pathways offer the opportunity for these economies to harness growth in their energy markets while also contributing to a climate resilient future. Adopting these strategies means including climate concerns in the mainstream development schemes while convincing emerging economies to follow suit. Can developing and emerging economies implement LCD strategies across a wide and diverse range of global development schemes? How can developing and emerging economies ensure that LCD contributes to poverty reduction and human rights centric growth? What are the best strategies in convincing emerging markets to adhere to climate friendly practices while their larger counterparts seem to be taking a different direction? At this dinner, stakeholders can gather to share best practices and deepen collaboration for a climate-resilient future.

14. Populism and Foreign Policy

Right-wing populist parties as the Alternative for Germany (AfD) and the French Front National (FN) thrive due and influence debates on identity politics. The key debates on Europe on these matters in the last decade concerned migration and European policies. However, meanwhile we observe an extension of right-wing populist parties' agendas to foreign policy (for example, relations toward the United States and Russia). In smaller European countries, where right-wing populist parties have been part of the political spectrum since the 1990s, debates on foreign policies have a substantial nationalistic touch. Austria, the Netherlands, and Norway face as prominent examples. The question is if right-wing populist parties are about to leave a substantial imprint on foreign policies, as they did in European and immigration policies? And if so, how? And how can established parties best react to these challenges?

15. The Three Seas: Synergies for Progress

Facing similar challenges and obstacles, as well as opportunities, Central and Eastern European countries need to work closer together and create synergies for their economic development. A deeper cooperation would allow for enhanced security and more vigorous economic growth. To address the challenges and tackle the opportunities the Three Seas initiative was initiated three years ago, and continues to evolve, with input from and support of all 12 countries



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involved. While it is important for these countries to further their progress and European integration, it is also in European Union's interest that they succeed.

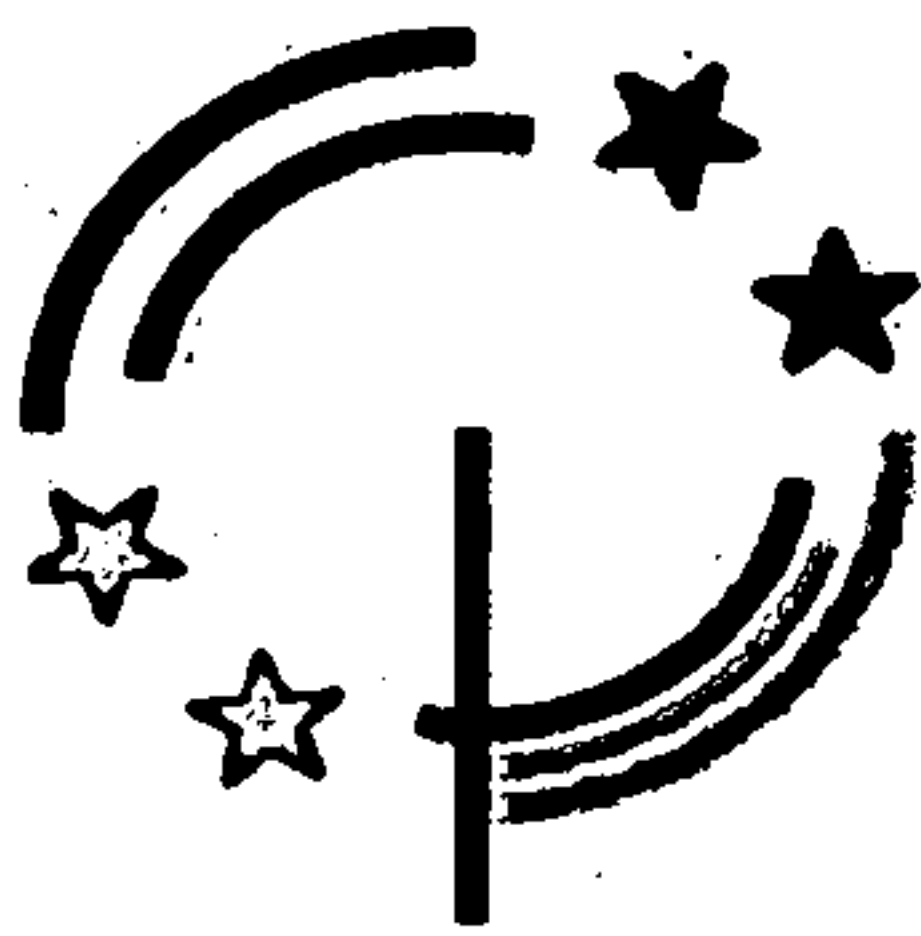
16. Re-Building Trust in Innovation through Smart Regulation

Innovation is a key enabler to our economies, and societies, ability to thrive. Yet even as new ideas, new technologies, and new processes enrich us, they can cause new risks, new disruptions, and new uncertainties. Technologies such as robotics, artificial intelligence, big data and analytics, and platforms are changing how we conduct our day-to-day lives — everything from banking, paying bills, to learning, to commuting, just to name a few. In both Europe and the United States, politicians and policymakers strive to use law and regulation to mitigate the disadvantages of innovation while not stifling it. Finding the right balance between the need to avoid adverse effects to consumers, workers, communities, and the environment, while at the same time unlocking the genius of our people is challenging; doing so in a way that is compatible and allows for trade and investment between us all the more so.

This evening's discussion will look at the many areas in which technologies and innovations are advancing on both sides of the Atlantic, trying to identify areas where our regulatory approaches are likely to diverge and what we can do to minimize the disruptions those differences may cause, both to our societies and our economies, and to the transatlantic relationship.

17. The Conundrum of Stabilizing the Euro

More than eight years after the outbreak of the euro crisis, the immediate danger of a breakup of the common currency seems to be averted. For the first time in more than a decade all countries of the euro area are growing at the same time. Many steps to reform the European Union and the institutional set-up of the euro area have already been taken and French President Macron has made sweeping suggestions to further reshape the EU and to stabilize the euro area. At the same time, euro skepticism is a growing factor in domestic politics across Europe. Thus we are faced with a conundrum: In order to stabilize the euro area and protect it from future shocks, more integration of its members will be needed. Yet at the same time, further integration has become a difficult topic in domestic political debates in many European countries. How to solve this conundrum? What steps are needed to finally stabilize the EMU? How to balance preferences of different



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countries, while also maintaining domestic support? And how can the euro area re-establish trust both with its citizens and with international financial actors?

18. The End of the West? The Fate of the Liberal International Order in the Age of Trump

The policies of the Trump administration have called into question the post-1945 liberal international order. Yet European perceptions of the Trump administration vary and some argue about the very definition of the liberal international order. This dinner will discuss whether such an order ever existed in its own right or whether it was essentially a by-product of American primacy. Participants will discuss the emerging international landscape marked by rising and resurgent powers and discuss how the transatlantic democracies can deal with emerging global challenges at a time when politics on both sides of the Atlantic are increasingly polarized.

19. Towards a New Middle Eastern Disorder?

The Arab Spring has overturned the status quo in the MENA Region, and a new regional order is nowhere over the horizon. While protracted conflicts in Syria, Iraq, Libya and Yemen continue, the proxy conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran is intensifying. Can order be created from this chaos or are we moving towards a new regional disorder in the Middle East? Is there a formula for creating a lasting regional order and security framework in the Middle East? What roles can the United States and Europe realistically play in mitigating instability and creating order in the MENA region?

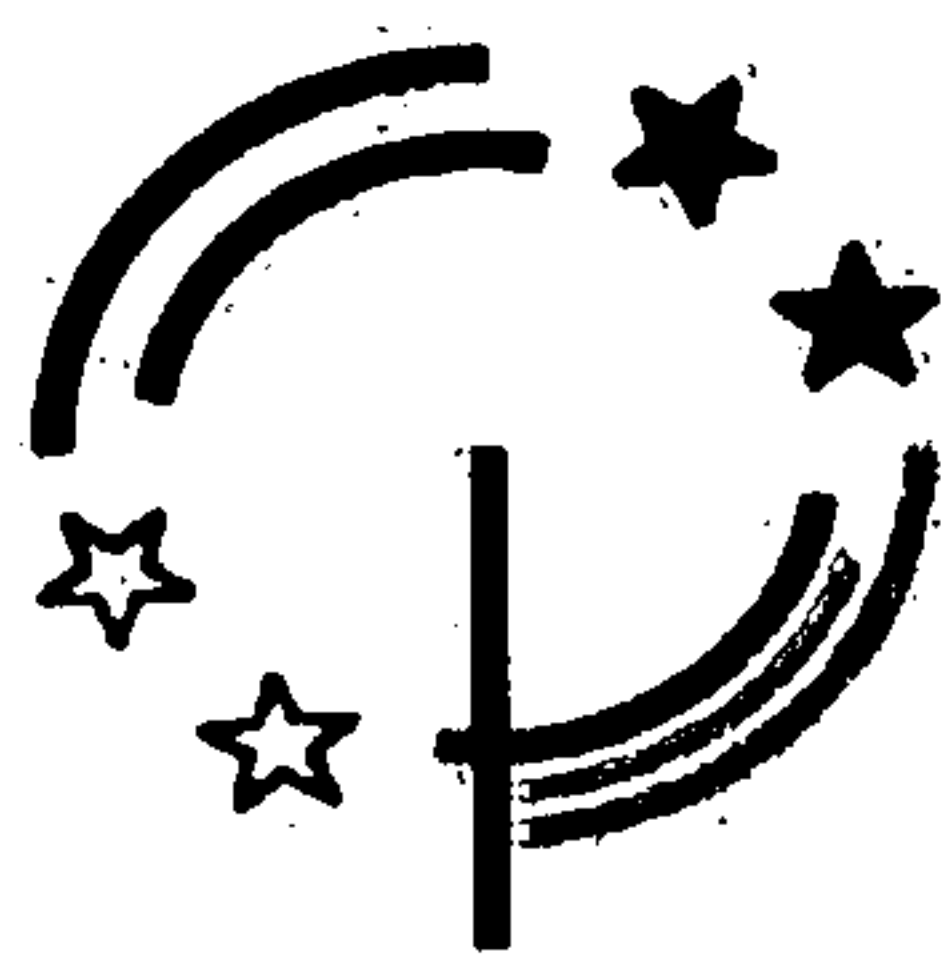
20. Transatlantic Security Beyond the Atlantic

Over the past several years, transatlantic partners have faced plenty of problems "at home" — including political uncertainties, the overwhelming challenge of irregular migration, and the palpable threat of great-power conflict. Yet beyond the transatlantic space, the geopolitical security picture continues to shift while Europe and the United States are occupied with domestic challenges. China continues to flex its muscle in the Pacific, North Korea's nuclear capability makes daily headlines, and the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action teeters as the U.S. president threatens withdrawal. In an era of political dissonance, can transatlantic partnership be leveraged beyond the immediate region? What are



the key global security challenges that the transatlantic partners can jointly tackle today? What global security trends should be at the forefront of transatlantic strategic thinking – where should transatlantic partners proactively invest their efforts?

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Experiencing:

21. Engaging the Community through Arts and Culture: the Example of Molenbeek

In recent years, questions have arisen about whether, and to what degree, the needs of residents who live in low-income neighborhoods on both sides of the Atlantic are a part of crucial decision-making processes — decisions that directly impact their quality of life and well-being. While the underlying reasons and historical precedence for excluding resident voice in decision-making process differs between U.S. and European cities, the question remains: how to engage community members who, as a result of past exclusion from city-level decision-making processes, may lack trust that their voice will be heard and recognized. This breakout dinner will explore how the Molenbeek neighborhood is engaging its residents through cultural engagement. We will learn that through such civic engagement initiatives as Molenbeek's that change on residents' terms can and does take place; change that will improve the economic situation of residents, improve integration efforts, and strengthen democratic processes.

22. A Taste of Culinary Diplomacy with Chef Art Smith

Diplomacy is an art of deliberation and compromise. Yet too often it is undermined by a lack of communication and mutual understanding. Though commonly portrayed through the lens of state actors, in an increasingly cosmopolitan and interconnected world, it is often culture and culture bearers who serve as the most influential emissaries. In a time when bellicosity and barriers define diplomacy, can alternative messengers such as these serve best to bridge differences and misunderstandings? Relying on the culture of food as a tool for strengthening human connections, culinary diplomacy promotes mutual understanding among people of different backgrounds through culinary cultural exchange. World renowned chefs and culinary experts now travel the globe to engage communities, governments, stakeholders, and the media on pressing international challenges, reflecting over the table or in the kitchen and bringing lessons learned back to their homes.

Join us for an evening with Art Smith, a pioneer in the culinary diplomacy field and celebrity chef who has prepared meals for dignitaries around the world, from the Dalai Lama to Princess Diana. Through an interactive cooking

